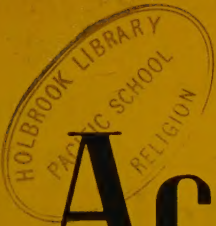


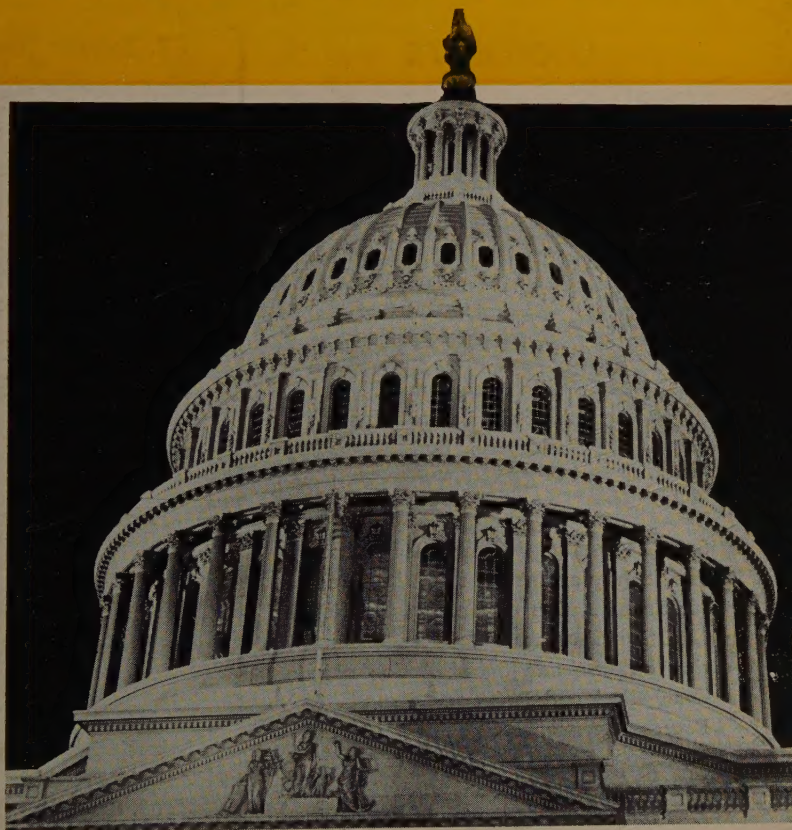
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Social Action

A Magazine of Christian Concern



Issues in the

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS

Social Action

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Editorial

The Fall Elections

The project which produced the main body of this number of *Social Action* has undergone a sea change since it was launched. We set out to get the views of a considerable number of our church members on the ethical issues in the approaching Congressional elections. We got some thoughtful and significant replies, which we gratefully acknowledge, but they were few. In consequence, the material here presented is drawn from many sources and is only in small part a report of what denominational leaders think.

More important is the fact that our churchmen correspondents reveal chiefly what they think the major political issues *ought to be* rather than what the voters' choices are likely to turn upon. This is due in part, of course, to the fact that mid-term elections are decided largely on local issues and on the basis of personal loyalties and alliances. But it is also true that issues of great social moment are commonly determined by considerations that the electorate tends to regard as morally neutral. This is perhaps the main reason why we still hear the words "politics" and "political" used to designate interests and purposes that are morally reprehensible.

An elementary task of Christian education is to disclose to citizens, including politicians,

the ethical character of many of the decisions which they are disposed to regard as "purely" political—that is, as ethically neutral. We are continually in danger of doing our ethical thinking in terms of lofty generalities, while doing our political *acting* in very perplexing situations that we have taken few pains to explore.

Much of the current criticism of church agencies for becoming involved in politics arises from the assumption that because the church is sharply limited in its *corporate* capacity with respect to political action it has no concern with the education and guidance of its members as citizens with respect to their political decisions. What we commonly designate as separate spheres, moral and political, very often overlap.

The McCarthy "Trial"

A better illustration of the "ambiguities and relativities" which condition practical moral decisions could hardly be found than in the McCarthy censure hearings. On the one hand, the junior Senator from Wisconsin demands that no person who has been sharply critical of him should be a member of the committee conducting the investigation. After repeatedly accusing the Democratic party of treason he seems to expect that three representative Democratic sena-

tors could be found who have not been outraged by the spectacle he has created. This curious position rests upon the wholly gratuitous assumption that the proceeding is analogous to a judicial trial. What is to be decided is, mainly, not the validity of allegations of criminal conduct, presented as issues of fact. The real question is whether or not a man who says and does the things which McCarthy habitually says and does, and which the press, radio, and television have made a matter of tiresome record, should go unrebuked and unchecked.

But, on the other hand, Chairman Watkins may have made a questionable decision in excluding evidence which Senator McCarthy and his counsel insist would show that the former's conduct has not been so exceptional as to warrant singling him out for censure. It is all very well to say that a man accused of stealing a pig cannot offer in defense the fact that another man stole a cow. But this obscures the essence of the matter, which is moral, not legal. If a law has been violated a clear criterion of judgment is at hand. But in the present case the issue, we repeat, is whether the Senator's conduct is so morally reprehensible as to merit the disciplinary action which the Constitution authorizes the Senate to take. And the criteria for such a judgment are furnished only by the prevailing standards of morality.

If Senator McCarthy's behavior

should go uncensured because other elected representatives of the people are adjudged equally reprehensible, many citizens will find it hard to take, but it would at least throw new light on the need for moral regeneration in high places. That would be something.

Secularism Today

Speaking on "Political Theory in the Separation of Church and State," Jerome G. Kerwin, professor of political science at the University of Chicago, said recently: "The overriding danger in this country is that in our sincere desire to prevent encroachment by the religious into the civil sphere, we relegate religion to the hazy outer fringes of life and deny ourselves the benefits that religion can confer in the public domain. The condemnation of religion to a Sunday exile in the holy name of separation of Church and State can never fit the role of a dynamic religion or the functioning of moral politics." It would be hard to find a more adequate definition of secularism as a phenomenon of modern life. The occasion of Dr. Kerwin's address, fittingly enough, was the opening session of a "workshop" sponsored by the University's Department of Education and the Department of Religion and Public Education of the National Council of Churches. The real battle against secularism is staged, not in the field of philosophy or theology, but in the field of social ethics.

Issues in the Congressional Elections

The Editor presents a composite of expert and lay opinions

ON NOVEMBER SECOND, when more than one-third of the U.S. Senate and all 435 members of the national House of Representatives will be elected, the voters will be reacting to a vast complex of interests and incentives which even the shrewdest politicians will not be able to analyze with anything approaching exactness. Even more difficult is the task of appraising in moral terms the ideas, the desires, and the choices that will be expressed in the casting of the ballots.

The *Wall Street Journal* said a few weeks ago:

"In the off-year Congressional elections the standing of the individual Congressmen in their own districts is much more of a major factor than when a President is running; it is such an important factor that it makes it difficult to generalize on the meaning of the elections after they are over, much less predict in advance what will happen. . . . Forecasting the issues is a pleasant enough warm weather sport; easier and less risky than fore-

casting the votes. But our own experience is that it's easier to count the votes after an election than it is to discover the issues that made them."

That is a bit discouraging, surely. But in what follows our purpose is a modest one: namely, to throw some light on the political situation in terms of the forces that are operating and the values that are at stake, without trying to assign relative weights to them. At the time of writing the battle lines are still forming and "anything may happen."

To many people, of course, a political campaign seems like mere sound and fury—a demonstration that has a negligible effect on the final outcome. This is a gratuitous assumption, but even if it be true that the people's minds are mostly made up without reference to discussion, argument, or propaganda there is good reason to believe that honest inquiry by conscientious citizens can have a wholesome long-term influence on the political life of the nation. We are making that assumption.

Looking at the Record

The first thing to note in sizing up the political situation is that in a mid-term election campaign the party in power is saying, in effect, to the voters, "How'm I doing?" It is a rhetorical question, of course, the answer to which is tirelessly supplied by political experts. Nevertheless, it is precisely the question which the people will be answering at the polls. The strongly partisan, of course, don't find it necessary to look at the record since to them the quality of the record is entirely a matter of which party made it; but all agree that legislative and administrative achievement is the essential ground of defense or attack. The President has been very explicit about it. As someone has said, "He asked for it." Let us try first to look at the facts objectively. We can then consider the conflicting evaluations placed on them.

The major accomplishments of the Administration came about in the second session of the 83rd Congress. There will probably be general agreement as to what they are, regardless of how they are appraised.

Major Enactments

Tax Law Revision. Fundamental revision of the Internal Revenue Code resulted in a reduction of taxes in an amount close to \$7 billion. This, of course, does not wholly represent net economies, since the debt limit had to be raised temporarily by

\$6 billion (nearly the amount of the saving) which puts the limit at \$281 billion. Basic tax policy was involved in the new legislation, which furnishes a campaign issue.

Flexible Farm Price Supports. After a rather dramatic contest with the bipartisan farm bloc the President got one of his major policies written into law: flexible price supports for basic crops. It was, of course, a compromise in quantitative terms—fixing the lower limit at 82½ per cent of "parity" instead of 75 per cent. But the principle of flexibility, for which many believed Secretary Benson was about to forfeit his political life, was established, at least for the time being.

Atomic Energy Production. A larger role was given to private enterprise in the development of atomic energy, but—as a result of an opposition move—with preference to public power agencies in disposing of surplus atomic power. This issue is an aspect of the larger problem of power production, which is politically crucial. The spectacular 13-day Senate filibuster occurred in this connection. Permissive action was taken on the important matter of international exchange of atomic information.

The St. Lawrence Seaway. A project favored by Mr. Eisenhower's recent predecessors in office was brought to fruition by the act authorizing construction, jointly with the Canadian Gov-

ernment, of a seaway linking the Great Lakes with the Atlantic Ocean. Here the main question seems to have been one of reconciling sectional interests.

Social Security. Ten million additional persons, largely farmers, were brought under coverage of the Social Security system with respect to old-age pensions and survivors' insurance. Existing benefits were appreciably increased. Members of the clergy were given permissive coverage.

The Bricker Amendment. A determined fight, which had international reverberations, over modifying the treaty-making power and limiting the President's power to make executive agreements was won by the Administration, but only by the narrowest of margins.

Housing. Since the President had asked authorization for 140,000 units of public housing over a four-year period and got a one-year authorization for one-quarter of that amount, this item probably belongs on the credit side. But, as the *New York Times* said, he "just squeaked through," and was "saved only by the Democrats." Also, new conditions and restrictions were written into the law.

Anti-Subversion. The Communist party has been outlawed and, it would seem, every conceivable measure has been taken to eliminate subversive influence in the conduct of public and private affairs. Here the two parties vied with each other. Said the *New*

York Times: "No more hard, acute partisan maneuvering had been seen in the whole Congress. Both parties, though of course overwhelming anti-Communist, plainly and visibly played election-year politics, each in haste to appear at least as hostile to communism as the other."

Things Left Undone

Labor. The President was unable to get from Congress the revision of the Taft-Hartley Act to which he had committed himself during the campaign.

Health Reinsurance. The Administration's proposal to set up a federal fund of \$25 million to reinsure private health insurance policies was defeated by a combination of Republican and Democratic votes. Conservatives opposed it on principle, as socialistic, and liberals thought it too tame a measure to be worth passing. However, some minor items in the White House health program were enacted.

Foreign Trade. The President failed to get a three-year extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act or the further authority he desired to make tariff reductions up to 15 per cent. Congress followed its pattern of enacting a one-year extension of the existing Act.

Statehood. The Administration proposal that Hawaii be granted statehood was defeated because the Democrats insisted on a "package" — statehood for both Hawaii and Alaska—or none at

all. Here politics in its crudest form was admittedly operating: Hawaii would presumably be prevailingly Republican, and Alaska Democratic.

On Balance — ?

The 64-dollar question is, of course, Shall the record be called good or bad? This is what the voter has to answer for himself. Spokesmen for the Administration contend that since it obtained legislative approval for 53 out of 64 bills (which they take as representing the Administration's program) its batting average is .828—a phenomenal figure in anybody's league! The real question, however, is one of *weighting*. For example, among the eleven outright defeats cited was the refusal of Congress to amend the Taft-Hartley Act. Conversely, the President's victory in the matter of farm price supports was in a sense only a 50 per cent victory and subject to quite contrary appraisals. And so on.

It should be said further that, quite apart from the legislative program, the bringing into effect of a Korean truce—a tremendously popular act—the inauguration of governmental economies, and the consistent effort made in unspectacular fashion to rid the government of whatever subversive influences had infiltrated it are, by and large, credit items, as the average citizen sees them. Undoubtedly much hardship has been caused by the economy program, which has cost many people

their jobs, and it is a matter of common knowledge that the government's security measures have done no little violence to the personal security of individuals who under normal conditions would maintain positions of honor in the community. Also, the morale of some government departments has suffered. Yet if one grants the necessity of drastic economy and of drastic measures to control subversion, nice questions of "distributive justice" inevitably fall into the background. This is one of the tragedies of politics.

Moreover, an Administration must be appraised, in part, by reference to what it set out to do. Mr. Eisenhower announced himself as a "middle-of-the-road" man and he had a right to assume that the people who elected him wanted that kind of regime. We must record, in the discussion of specific issues which follows, some highly critical judgments that have been passed upon the present Administration and it seems proper to preface them with some conspicuous commendations. Said the *New York Times* editorially:

"Even the most hard-bitten opponent of the President would be forced to admit in all honesty that a very great deal of positive accomplishments has been achieved in the last nineteen months, that fears of recession have been pretty well dissipated, that important legislation has been adopted and that in some spheres—though not all—the in-

ternational outlook is better than it was. And even the most ardent supporters of the President would do well to bear in mind that many of these good things would have happened no matter which party was in control."

The *Chicago Tribune* (no Eisenhower paper!) had this to say:

"For a man who entered the White House only 20 months ago with no experience in the management of the relations between the most powerful executive and the most powerful legislature in the world, Mr. Eisenhower has been astonishingly successful. The good that he has accomplished has been brought about by his popularity, and in some instances by an innate sense of honesty that has served him better, perhaps, than would have the political experience he lacked."

Roscoe Drummond, Washington correspondent of the *New York Herald Tribune*, has said: "This has been an extraordinarily productive Congress. As much significant legislation has been put on the statute books during this session of Congress as during any comparable two-year period in recent years and more than most."

An Unusual Situation

Before taking up specific issues it is important to emphasize the fact that the record briefly reviewed above does not really define a strictly partisan position. As *Newsweek* has said of the

83rd Congress: "The nonpartisan truth was this: The Democrats, by and large, had been quicker than most of the Republicans to back the President on foreign aid, on liberalized trade, and on similar measures in keeping with the spirit of the New Deal. The Republicans had given the President greater support on tax reductions, tax reform, amendment of the Atomic Energy Act to give private industry a share in the development of nuclear power, and similar measures designed to encourage private enterprise. Several issues, such as the farm program, had cut party lines to ribbons."

These facts have given rise to such bitter pleasantries as the Democratic jibe about Eisenhower's need of a Democratic Congress in order to get his most important policies written into law. The circumstances of Mr. Eisenhower's election continue to be politically influential today. It was a personal victory more than the decisive triumph of a political party. The current campaign, therefore, has a touch of paradox in that, while the party in power has to stand on its record, individual candidates must stand before their constituencies on their own feet, which in many cases have walked off the Administration's platform. The fact that the President's prestige is still high, as the opinion polls show, requires many candidates to offer convincing evidence that they are *his men* even while defending their desertion from the

ranks in crucial battles.

Perhaps this confused situation is, in part at least, the cause of the apparent apathy of the voters. In general, candidates for renomination have been successful. For many years it has been almost an axiom that in the "off-years," that is, when a president was not to be chosen, the party out of power gains strength in Congress. This is presumably due chiefly to the fact that the supporters of an Administration are less strongly motivated to vote than are its opponents, who are eager to register their disapproval. This factor is likely to be influential this fall.

What Voters Are Saying

A recent Gallup poll produced some rather startling results concerning the issues that voters, Republican and Democratic, regard as most important. Roscoe Drummond has summed them up:

"The foremost Democratic argument was unemployment and the next most cited issue was the Republican farm policy. The foremost Republican argument was ending the Korean War and the next most cited argument was the reduction of taxes.

"But what happened to the Communist issue? The answer is that it isn't there. The answer is that it was cited so rarely that it does not rank anywhere among either of the groups of five Democratic and Republican issues which the voters themselves consider the most important.

"What has apparently hap-

pened is that public opinion has decided that Communists-in-government is not a major issue regardless of what the politicians say about it."

To the extent that this poll is a true gauge of voters' attitudes it bears out the President's early prediction that communist infiltration would not be a major campaign issue. To all who have been greatly concerned over the spread of mccarthyism (see September *Social Action*) this is reassuring. Two reasons for it readily come to mind: (1) the waning of Senator McCarthy's influence, pointed up by the tendency of candidates to keep aloof from him; (2) the vigorous, sustained, and systematic efforts of the Administration to root out communist influence, wherever found. The *real* issue in this connection, from an ethical viewpoint, is that of civil liberty and respect for individual citizens—and, in consequence, the maintenance of public morale.

A striking feature of the situation is the fact that foreign policy, admittedly all important—even a life-and-death matter—seems to figure only to a minor degree. This is due, apparently, to a number of factors, chief among which are the fact that the Administration has followed in large part the foreign policy laid down by the preceding Democratic regimes, and the further fact that no clear alternative to existing policies has up to this time been formulated. The collapse of EDC, which at this writ-

ing has just stunned the West (though it was foreseen by the well-informed) before the shock of the Southeast Asia debacle had been absorbed, is forcing Secretary Dulles' "agonizing reappraisal" of our foreign policy and, politically speaking, much may happen before the campaign is over.

Lippmann on Foreign Policy

Walter Lippmann, renewing his column on August 31 after a summer interval, says that the process of reappraisal is already indicated by a "change in . . . posture" on the part of the State Department. What we Americans are having to do is not "pleasing to our pride," he says, but may be "good for our souls." Here is his cold analysis:

"The time came when in Indo-China a hard choice had to be made. Were the French to surrender Tonkin where they were defeated and in grave peril; or were we to go to war in Tonkin, a war which meant a war with China? Any one listening to the words spoken by the President, the Vice-President, the Secretary of State and all the many part-time secretaries of state in Congress, would have been sure that the decision would be for war. But any one looking at the budget, the tax bill, the military cut-backs, the de-activizd divisions, the redeployment and the disengagement of American forces, had to predict that the decision would be not to intervene.

"It was embarrassing to eat the big words. But it would have been many times more embarrassing to explain to the voters that first we had reduced our forces and then we had involved ourselves in a war."

The "new diplomatic look" includes a reappraisal of the policy of "containment" inherited from the Truman administration (ruthlessly analyzed by Mr. Lippmann when it was first elaborated) and also of the Dulles policy of "liberation." We are forced to exchange, for the present, at least—as President Eisenhower has recently intimated—the role of *leadership* for that of *partnership*.

These considerations help to explain why foreign policy, though no whit less important, has become a less clearly defined political issue. Senator Knowland, to be sure, is crusading for a showdown that might lead to all-out war.

Voice of Experience

Among our correspondents is an astute observer and former publisher—a Republican with political experience—who offers these comments on foreign policy as an issue in the campaign:

"The thinking part of the voting population will be influenced largely by what has been done and is likely to be done in the field of our foreign relationships. Here the Administration is not on such sure ground. . . .

"The Korean War was ended

without any credit to us. The blame for this was largely passed, in popular thinking, to the Truman administration under which it began and was largely waged. The mistakes, while usually bipartisan, were officially the government's and the public has placed the blame on Democratic shoulders—not fair but practical, politically speaking.

"There had been under Roosevelt a bipartisan foreign policy. This had deteriorated under Truman and Candidate Eisenhower promised to revive it. His efforts have not been completely successful and that fact may be used against him by the 'intellectuals' during the pre-election days. . . .

"International trade instead of aid appeals to some people, but again they are a small minority. Easier trade with foreign countries should be an issue but it is doubtful if the President's own views on the subject are popular. The pendulum has been swinging toward internationalism for a long time. There may well be a swing in the other direction for a while. If so, the President's recent actions in several trade cases will be popular and will carry with them a deal of voting support for Republican candidates. Of course, such steps as raising the tariff on Swiss watches may indicate that a new policy intended to encourage trade between neutrals and West European countries and the Communist areas is to be developed to a point where the former will not

miss our trade or be unduly affected by such tariff walls. At all events they will be minor influences in the fall elections.

"Foreign aid is becoming more and more unpopular and it may . . . play a small part in districts or regions where the old isolationism was strong."

About the Swiss Watches

These comments point up the difference between ethical issues as such and ethical *campaign* issues in terms of actuality. To many of us it can seem no less than tragic that the political fortunes of a great nation are pursued with so little reference to the effect of its policies on smaller nations. *Fortune* says in its September issue:

"President Eisenhower's decision to raise the tariff on Swiss watches—in some cases back to the Smoot-Hawley level—was widely interpreted in Europe as proof that he had capitulated to the protectionist wing of the Republican party. Ironically, it was during the same week that Congress began discussing more billions for foreign aid that Eisenhower acted. This prompted the *Financial Times* of London to quip that the U.S. was still stubbornly determined to pursue a policy of 'aid not trade.'"

A Swiss writer in the *Manchester Guardian* a few weeks ago said:

"It is obvious that the importance of the American business interests to be protected by the

increased tariff rates is in no proportion to the importance of the watch industry for Switzerland. This typical Swiss export industry is being punished without any regard to the fact that this very source of income made it possible for Switzerland to buy goods freely in the United States. . . .

"What, in the face of this decision, are all those European countries to think which suffer from a so-called dollar gap and are constantly being admonished by the United States to earn more dollars through their own efforts, through an increase of their productivity, and through an increased effort to compete in the difficult American market?"

Yet how many voters will be thinking about such matters on November second? Indeed, it is doubtful that much serious thought is being given even to economic issues of the more complicated sort. James Reston, writing in the *New York Times* about the President's recent speech in Springfield, Ill., said:

"The things the politicians and the newspapers and commentators are talking about are not always, or even generally, the things the people are talking about. When the President talked about ending the war in Korea and maintaining prosperity . . . , he had their attention and their enthusiasm. But when he launched into an oblique attack on Senator Douglas for predicting a depression—the point that interested the reporters—the crowd didn't seem to know what

Senator Douglas had been predicting or even to know that the President had Mr. Douglas in mind."

"Prosperity"

For many decades the business barometer has been a basic factor in election forecasting. The question is, what impression will the voters have of the business outlook and how valid will it be? Referring to the President's optimistic account of the economic situation the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* said: "We are glad to hear it. The timing of this optimistic announcement, however, was not too fortunate. On its heels came reports that the Great Lakes Steel Corporation will lay off 1,000 workers Sunday and that employes of the Studebaker Corporation have agreed to take a pay cut so the company can continue to make cars."

The *Wall Street Journal*, under the caption "Dangers in Optimism," said:

"Going back a year, one will find some predictions of dire economic upsets from economists both here and in Europe. Events have proved these wide of the mark. Even the more moderate forecasts of recession have not been fulfilled.

"Nevertheless, we think there is room to doubt the advisability of too frequent statements from Washington officials on the state of the economy.

"These statements must always have an optimistic tone whether or not the optimism is

justified. One can scarcely imagine the President, the Secretary of the Treasury or the Secretary of Commerce publicly expressing an opinion which could be summed up that 'things are quite bad.' Indeed, such a statement would be irresponsible for it would have a destructive effect."

An important feature of the situation would seem to be the discrepancy between the business index and the employment index. The current figure for unemployment is close to 5 per cent of the working population. One of the characteristic features of the period in which we are living is the accelerated reduction in costs through "automatization"—a euphemism for laying off workers. A feature writer for the *Washington Evening Star* in a recent article deriding the predictions of depression—which he refers to as "The Blight That Failed"—says about automatization: "The push-button trend in industry, encouraged by the makers of robot tools, has seeped down to the smaller manufacturers. Even aluminum cup makers and grenade makers have been investing in machines that step up output phenomenally without adding to labor costs."

In the long run the technological trend has a way of taking care of itself, but the short run sometimes influences elections. In any case, the new Republican campaign slogan, "Peace, Progress, and Prosperity," has the elements of a psychological bull's eye.

The Tax Legislation Issue

The former Speaker of the House, Sam Rayburn, is quoted in the press as saying that Congress in the name of "stabilized economy" has given "big-moneyed people handsome tax advantage over the people who earn income by toil." This statement—toned down a bit in wording perhaps—may be taken as embodying the essence of the opposition to the Administration on the tax question. The issue is really not one of fact but one of philosophy. The *U.S. News and World Report* headed its article discussing the new law, "Billions Freed for Business Growth." Private enterprise, it is stated, is given a "big boost"; billions of dollars more are now tax-free for business expansion and improvement. However, it is at once stated that the new investments now made possible will benefit not only stockholders and management but workers as well.

The philosophy underlying this view is that business will never thrive, nor will jobs be secure, until much more adequate incentive is given to enterprise than has been given in recent years. It is a moot question, since the enormous growth of productive enterprise under a postwar high-tax regime seems to give little in the way of supporting data for the claim that business is suffering seriously from a dearth of risk capital. But, beyond doubt, the business community is, on the whole, convinced that it has been grievously

hampered by taxation. Hence business hails a tax policy that is "geared to the idea that strengthening private enterprise" is the way to secure "more jobs, rising activity, higher standards of living." Business is cheered by the prospect of billions in "write-offs" under the liberal provision in the new law for amortizing new equipment. Thus taxes will be saved by investing in new plant and machinery.

Life magazine thinks that "Treasury Boss George Humphrey has made a good start at whacking through [government underbrush] in the new tax bill signed by President Eisenhower . . . which retains most of the reforms Humphrey had proposed. As the first complete overhaul of the nation's cumbersome, crazy-quilt tax structure in 79 years, it is also a departure in tax philosophy. It abandons the notion that taxes are a punitive weapon. Its own philosophy is to encourage 'initiative, enterprise and production' by all segments of the society and thus insure a growing and dynamic economy."

A contrary view is held by those who wanted more tax reduction in the lower brackets. Here again, more than special group interest is involved, though such interest is always a factor in politics. The appeal is to a consumer-oriented economics, with emphasis on purchasing power, on the ground that unless the mass of the population is able to spend on a large scale there can be no prosperity for anybody.

This position was widely accepted during the Democratic regime. The basic importance of purchasing power is beyond question. The issue is one of priority between spending and capital accumulation.

To interpret an issue of this sort in simple terms of greed *versus* social concern, or of the "haves" *versus* the "have nots" is to oversimplify and obscure it. Warm-hearted people and hard-boiled people are found on both sides of the argument.

The Labor Issue

The focal point of controversy over labor legislation is, of course, the Taft-Hartley Act, which the President had hoped to modify but about which nothing decisive has been done. And the crux of the matter is what labor calls union security and management is disposed to call union domination. The crucial question, which does not get itself posed as a definite issue, would seem to be how labor's effort, through union shop agreements, to influence the "labor market" can be effectually related to responsibility for maintaining high standards of work and a wholesome group discipline. Resentment over the Administration's failure to come through with a revision of Taft-Hartley is likely to be a factor in what is called (with questionable accuracy) the "labor vote," but it is doubtful that much discriminating thought is being given to it by the voters.

Farm Price Supports

The level of farm price supports is without doubt a major issue in some areas. Adlai Stevenson put the matter bluntly in his speech on August 28. He quoted from Mr. Eisenhower's campaign speech made in Brookings, S. D.:

"The Republican party is pledged to the sustaining of the 90 per cent parity price support, and it is pledged even more than that to helping the farmer obtain his full parity, 100 per cent parity, with the guarantee in the price support of 90."

This, Mr. Stevenson said, was "hard to misunderstand"—referring to the Republican contention that the President's position had been misinterpreted. Everybody knows, of course, that the mortality of campaign promises is high, regardless of party; which is less a commentary on integrity, perhaps, than on the lack of political realism. Moreover, the result of price supports in enormous wasted surpluses under the eyes of hungry millions is an admitted scandal—a fact which may account for the sudden and impressive change in Secretary Benson's prestige. Yet the cold political facts remain.

One of our correspondents has offered this interpretation of the apparent change in the President's position. Mr. Eisenhower, he says, "was taken up onto a mountain-top by the leaders of the Grange and American Farm Bureau Federation and convinced that the American farmer

had had a change of heart and was no longer selfishly interested in high prices supported at 90 per cent of parity by the taxpayers of the country. This view was strengthened by the many state and local bodies which passed the strongest kind of resolutions favoring a 'free market' and a hands-off policy on the part of government. The truly agrarian attitude through the years has been one of personal freedom and initiative.

"Yet, as a matter of fact, the farmer in this country has always been heavily subsidized by government. In the very beginning he was given cheap land at either very small cost or free for its homesteading. The protective tariff aided him for three generations. Railroads were encouraged to build means of transporting his products to the eastern markets. Costs were kept down for him by means of heavy mail subsidies. The only way in which he had a 'free market' was in lack of any government controls. He could do as he wished, plant what he wished and sell where and when he wished. At heart he really wanted to return to this type of untrammelled production and selling with a continuation of price supports on the old basis.

"However, when conditions made it necessary, under the law, to submit the question of price support reduction or a return to allocation of acreage, the wheat farmers voted in 1953 and again

in 1954 for the allotments with 90 per cent parity supports. That the majority was much smaller in 1954 than in the previous year may or may not have significance in a political evaluation."

On such a view of the matter the President's fight for flexible price supports wears an aspect of courage. No doubt the *New York Herald Tribune* spoke for many Americans when it said concerning this issue:

"The proposition is simply that this country's agriculture should not keep on producing price-propped surpluses which become increasingly unmanageable. The aim is to achieve a better balance between production and consumption, to provide better markets and to lead the way toward fewer controls. Sensible people have long recognized the wisdom of flexible supports—that sooner or later the step toward diminished subsidy had to be taken."

Nevertheless, indignation is inevitable over falling farm prices which are not reflected in consumer prices for food.

The Housing "Scandals"

Do the "windfall profits" accruing to private builders under the federal housing program constitute a campaign issue? The program was inherited, of course, from a Democratic Administration. It represented a great effort to meet a housing shortage and "prime the pump" for private construction of homes. A noted

housing expert has said of the program: "It is the whole pattern built up since 1935 under which government underwrites the risk of private enterprise, which in turn strives for the continuation of federal benefits through harnessing the administrative, political and legislative bodies into its interest."

The heart of it is in Section 608 of the Federal Housing Act, providing for government insurance of private construction projects up to 90 per cent of the estimated cost. The *Wall Street Journal* has thus described the "windfall" feature in an editorial:

"A construction company would be formed and applications made for F.H.A.-insured mortgages. Frequently the government officials would guarantee a mortgage loan much larger than the actual cost of construction without any provision for the return of loan funds that were in excess of actual costs. Thus this excess money could be, and often was, split up among the promoters of the project.

"In one case which recently came to public attention the sponsors paid in a total of only \$13,000 for capital stock, received government-guaranteed loans for \$8.8 million, spent \$6.6 million in construction costs and had left over some \$2.2 million in unspent funds which they then divided up.

"This situation came about because the government, wanting

housing in a hurry, took nearly all of the risk attached to the projects. Under the guise of guaranteeing mortgages it actually guaranteed the builders' profits."

The Catholic weekly, *Commonweal*, in an article on "The Housing Scandal," cited the following case, on the authority of a government official:

"A builder would receive a loan of \$8,380,500 on an estimated project. The actual cost would be \$3,890,871.13. The "windfall" to the dealer—would be \$4,489,628.87. The result was astronomical profit-taking on the part of private construction companies. . . .

"One subsidiary aspect of this kind of deal was that the tenants were charged rents on the basis of the estimated, and not the actual, cost. How many millions of dollars in excess rents were charged is impossible to calculate. Yet, this multi-million dollar business was not in violation of federal law."

Now, here is a record for which the Republican Administration cannot be held responsible. Its relevance to the present political situation is indirect, but it is by no means slight. Concluding the editorial quoted above *The Wall Street Journal* declared that "whenever the Federal government puts itself—and its purse—where it doesn't belong usually the result is that the government gets in even deeper. And we know that the deals the government complains about could

never have been made under the safeguards private firms erect about their own funds." Yet these scandals were executed by private business with public connivance. The *Commonweal* writer wonders "if there might not be similar revelations some day from the Atomic Energy Commission if a public monopoly is guaranteed to private—and profit-making—business."

But this gets us into the next issue.

Public and Private Power

Seldom, probably, has an important issue required such a confusing combination of words for the mere statement of what it is about as has the Dixon-Yates contract. It is the most publicized feature, since the Senate filibuster in July, of the issue over public and private power production. Here is the result of the *New York Times'* attempt at a factual statement:

"The controversy centers about an order from the President transmitted by the Bureau of the Budget, directing the A.E.C. to negotiate a contract with a power combine known as the Dixon-Yates group, for construction of a \$107,000,000 steam generating plant at West Memphis, Ark. This plant would feed 600,000 kilowatts of power into the T.V.A. system, to replace a similar amount of power T.V.A. provides for the A.E.C. plant at Paducah, Ky. The purpose is to relieve T.V.A. of the A.E.C. load

and thus allow it to meet growing demands in the region without the need for new appropriations for generating plants."

It seems to boil down to this: In keeping with the general philosophy of the Administration, the President took occasion to substitute private for public production of power to the extent covered by this contract with two private power companies. T.V.A. is widely regarded as a symbol of public development of natural resources at its best. The Authority has contended that the contract ordered executed by the President will cost the taxpayers an additional \$140 million. The omission of the usual competitive bidding is a subordinate issue, but one calling for explanation. A special correspondent of the *New York Times*, summing the matter up in political terms on September 4, wrote:

"Perhaps unwittingly, Messrs. Dixon and Yates have become the hyphenated symbol of a campaign issue that brings into sharp focus one of the fundamental differences between the Republican Administration of Dwight Eisenhower and its New Deal-Fair Deal predecessors.

"The issue turns on the future of the Tennessee Valley Authority: Whether it shall be allowed to grow and meet the expanded power needs of the seven-state area it serves or whether it must stop where it is and let private enterprise make up the energy deficit, at higher cost to the consumers of the valley."

Civil Liberties

The real issue over control of subversives is, of course, one of civil liberty. Whatever merit there may have been in the issue of "softness toward communists" within the government is now history. Indeed, the scramble in the Senate for pre-eminence in anti-communism, referred to earlier, has become a matter of unfavorable comment on every hand. Concerning the outlawing of the Communist party a serious question of constitutionality has been raised. A Washington dispatch to the *New York Times* said of the bill:

"Available drafts of the final text of the measure were not complete and were confusing. The text that went to the White House was never available to the whole Congress nor to the press and public. There were piecemeal drafts of conflicting bills and amendments. The guiding drafts from which Congress worked in its drive for final passage did not include some of the amendments that had been approved."

The *Chicago Daily News* said editorially:

"We have reached a sorry state of demoralization in Washington indeed if no member of Congress dares examine such a subject as this with a due regard for its effect as precedent on the liberties of all kinds of non-Communist Americans for generations to come.

"Liberalism, in its noble and

historic sense, did not have one spokesman in the Senate last week. The self-styled Democratic liberals could think of no answer to their detractors except to outdo them in the sponsorship of repression."

Interestingly enough, with respect to the other subversive control measures, the *Times* finds Congress more mindful of civil liberties than the Administration. In an editorial sharply criticizing the outlawing measure the *Times* said:

"With the notable exception of this bill, however, the Administration, through the Department of Justice, has shown itself less sensitive to the need for protecting constitutional rights and civil liberties in Communist-control legislation than has the Congress. For example, the President in his statement reviewing anti-Communist laws of the past session pointed with pride to the immunity bill; but this measure was amended before passage to give to the federal courts the authority Mr. Brownell had sought for himself. The Administration bill depriving native-born American Communists of citizenship was wisely changed by Congress to require commission of an overt act before it could take effect. The Administration bill to permit wiretapping was, before being shelved in the Senate, modified in the House to give the courts rather than the Attorney General final discretion."

But the provision in the law

for dealing with labor organizations alleged to be communist-infiltrated is being bitterly criticized. Senator Lehman, of New York, during the debate on the measure on the Senate floor, summed the matter up thus:

"It strikes me as exceedingly strange that the very members of this body who express the greatest distrust of Government and of bureaucracy, in regard to measures designed to advance the welfare of working people, are the first to demand the intervention of Government by means of measures designed to restrict and control the activities of working people.

"The pending bill would give to the Government, to the Attorney General, and to the Subversive Activities Control Board, the power and authority to decide which unions are sound and patriotic and which are Communist-infiltrated and hence should be liquidated. What an awful power to vest in Government. Does this not smack of totalitarianism, of the very thing we fear and fight, struggle against, and hate?"

We may conclude this section with a few sentences from the Alsops' column on the subject in the *New York Herald Tribune*:

"The best comment on this method of legislating was made by the respected conservative Democrat, Sen. Walter George. 'They brought in a political bill,'

(Continued on page 25)

October 1954

WORKSHOP

Edited by
Herman F. Reissig

THE Social Action Committee of the Genesee Valley Association (New York State) has had in 1954 a triple emphasis. First, it sponsors attendance of leaders in that area at seminars. It had representatives at the Churchmen's Washington Seminar and at the social action institutes at Framingham, Mass. Second, in support of the State Council of Churches' migrant program, the Association committee sent to all churches printed material on migrants and recommendations for action by the local church. Third, the committee furnishes to each church a packet of four pieces that stimulate interest in social action and give church members help in getting started.

Congratulations to the Genesee Valley Association committee

on this excellent program! The members are Mrs. Paul E. Tanner, *Chairman*, Rev. James Ashbrook, Rev. Frank Carlson, and Mrs. Warner L. Carver.

THE 1954 annual meeting of the First Congregational Church, Park Ridge, N.J., voted to create a social action committee. With Burnham Matthews as chairman, the committee has four members-at-large and a representative of the Men's Club, the Women's Association, the Board of Deacons, and the Board of Trustees. The new committee has visited a migrant camp, called a meeting of the congregation to hear pro and con speakers on the New Jersey Bingo - Raffle issue, and helped to get canvassers for the new hospital "so badly needed around here."

The *Workshop* section is sent, with other helpful materials, to social action committees and to others on request in Congregational Christian Churches. Is your social action committee on the mailing list? We'll be glad to add them if you will send us their names and addresses.

Council for Social Action
289 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, N.Y.

A Postcard Will Do It

If a story in the *Workshop* on what a committee is doing arouses your special interest and you would like to get in touch with the local leaders for more information, we'll be glad to send you his, or her, address. A postcard to the C.S.A. will do it.

Action in Indiana

Ralph L. Holland, Secretary of the Indiana State Council of Churches, gets a deep bow for a series of workshops on the U.N. held in seven Indiana communities, April 28 - May 4. Beginning at two o'clock in each place and ending with an evening meeting, sometimes with supper served, the workshops were a superb combination of addresses, discussion, visual aids, and display of printed materials. In one community seniors in the High School who had been studying the U.N. presented an interesting symposium. In addition to Dr. Holland, who for six days spared neither himself nor his

car, the leaders were Dr. Barton Hunter, Dr. A. William Loos, Dr. James A. Crain, and Herman Reissig—three leaders being present at each workshop. An attractively printed program helped to advertise the meetings.

The secret of success in such a series, in addition to careful overall planning, is in finding a local chairman who will really work at getting people there. As with most social action meetings, eloquent announcements and the best printed publicity are not very effective unless accompanied by a lot of invitations given face to face or by telephone.

Something to Do

If your committee has never tried to persuade a local or state social action leader to get the rich educational experience of attending a national seminar you have something you can work on right now. The annual interdenominational *Churchmen's Washington Seminar* will be held February 15-18. Since our churches are assigned only thirty places in this seminar, we must put the main emphasis on the attendance of persons in positions of leadership—local, Association, State. Spend a little time making a list of persons who might be persuaded to go. The C.S.A. has a small amount of scholarship money to help with

the expenses. Write to Ray Gibbons about it.

Washington Packets: Under this general title, the CSA makes available packets dealing with topics of current interest. Each contains a discussion outline and materials giving varying points of view. The schedule for this year includes:

Crisis in Education (November)

Fair Play and Congressional Investigations (December)

The National Problem of Mental Care (January)

The packets are planned so that only one is required for a group discussion. Send your order to the CSA, enclosing 50¢ for each packet desired.

Using the October Social Action

The main article in this issue, "Issues in the Congressional Elections," lends itself easily to group discussion. Let the leader select a few of the issues discussed, assign them to members of the group and then, under the prepared leading of one person, let the group decide if this is a real issue, if the article has adequately described it and, not least, what the attitude and action of a Christian might be. In connection with the discussion it would be an excellent idea to get in touch with your Congressman. It would also be a good move to put a copy of this issue in the hands of your local editor and other leaders of public opinion. In sum, a careful and wide use of this article could help all of us to vote more intelligently in November.

Ernest Johnson's opening editorial contains a sentence that could be the subject of an evening's discussion. He says (second paragraph): "It is also true that issues of great social moment are commonly determined by considerations that the electorate tends to regard as morally neutral." To the editor of the *Workshop*, this seems one of the most important truths Christians need to learn. We usually say Christians should interest themselves in politics when a moral issue is involved. In the liquor traffic and gambling the moral issue is obvious. But Dr. Johnson

is quite right in saying that matters of the deepest importance to all of us are often involved in debates and legislation that do not, on the surface, have anything to do with religion and morals. He then goes on to say that one of the first tasks of Christian education is to point out that many questions we describe as "purely political"—and therefore not worthy of our special attention—are in fact ethical. Indeed, they may be even more important from the Christian point of view than some of the more obviously "moral" issues. It would be an interesting exercise to take a series of political issues—perhaps those enumerated in the main article—and ask ourselves in what way and to what degree Christian purposes are involved. We might end by discovering that, outside of a few technical questions, there isn't much in government that does not either help or hinder the good life.

Supplementary Reading

Influences in the 1954 Mid-Term Elections, by Louis H. Bean. 25¢ a copy from the Public Affairs Institute, 312 Pennsylvania Avenue, S.E., Washington, D.C.

Roll Call on the 83rd Congress. Individual voting records of Senators and Congressmen on selected key issues. 10¢ a copy from the CSA, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York 10.

Dilemma for Statesmen

What do you think about the collapse of plans for the European Defense Community (E.D.C.)? Here are two considerations. First, the rejection of the plan by the French Assembly is not just another example of the unreliability of the French. And the whole blame cannot be put on communist influence. The powerful German Social Democratic Party is terribly afraid of rearming Germany, even under international control. The French people are terribly afraid of a Germany rearmed; you would be too if you had lived through the German occupation of France. But, more than that, many Europeans share with many Americans the conviction that in the struggle against communism we have been putting too much emphasis on military resistance. It is dawning on more and more people that, as a rule, communism doesn't have a chance where social conditions are reasonably satisfactory. They think, with

some justification, that the U.S.S.R. does not see this clearly because the social situation in this country is, comparatively speaking, so good. So, they say: "Oh, the E.D.C. is important but not as important as Washington thinks. Let's spend a little more energy and money on education and medicine and better wages!"

Second, the above is a weighty argument but before we become too complacent about letting up on plans for military defense we might ask ourselves if this isn't just what the communists want: let the free nations decide there is no real invasion threat and then we'll have a better chance. For if communism thrives on social discontent, it also depends on the threat of arms and the use of arms. Let's not fool ourselves about that! Hence the title of these paragraphs. For responsible statesmen this is a real dilemma. They need our sober, balanced thinking—not hot admonitions to do one or the other.

More Institutes

The C.S.A. office is alive with "Forward!" plans. Among them: the active preparation of at least 18 one-day area social action institutes—from Maine to California—starting in late October. The dates are still too tentative to be announced. We can say that they are to be sponsored by state committees, will be intensive one-day training institutes, and will be led by at least two

members of the national staff assisted by local leaders. The plan includes a meeting of the State Committee as a part of each institute. Taking the C.S.A. program entire, it looks as if there would be enough "grass roots" stuff to cover the Sahara Desert. We in the national office are finding social action more exhilarating than ever. We hope you are.

Issues (Continued from page 20)

said George, 'so we just put a little more politics into it.'

"As to the politics of the matter, there can be little doubt. But it is hard to forget the remarkable debate on this very issue between Harold Stassen and Thomas E. Dewey in the Oregon primary of 1948. The more recent debates in the Senate and House do not disclose any effective answers to the arguments Gov. Dewey then offered, against this measure that the Congress has now so eagerly passed."

It seems reasonable to suppose that the odd role played by the Democrats in this matter is—in part, at least—traceable to the ruthless "twenty years of treason" charge which had been hurled at their party.

Less Ponderable Issues

Walter Lippmann has said that a major issue is the invasion of the executive sphere by the legislative branch of the federal government. This was dramatized by the struggle over the Bricker Resolution. It is a vital matter, but perhaps too intangible to be grasped by many voters in the heat of a campaign.

"States' rights" seems to have been resurrected as a political issue, but not as a matter of political philosophy. Rather, it appears to be what Governor Shivers and his Texas followers are saying: "Our state comes first with us." With millions of voters

even the most important national issues are apprehended only as they are screened through local and regional interests. This is true of foreign aid, of tariff adjustments, of the scandal of food surpluses in a half-hungry world—even of expenditures for national defense.

Some elections will doubtless turn on such irrelevant factors as personal idolatry and personal hatred. Certainly the causes of victory and defeat will usually be multiple, a web difficult to untangle. Yet this very complexity invites an effort to tip the scales on the side of reason and of justice.

Campaign Ethics

The "Code of Fair Campaign Practices" agreed to by the national party chairmen is at least an indication of some degree of ethical awareness of a rather bad situation. We Americans are accustomed to rough campaigning, and it is perhaps safe to say that political consciences, regardless of party affiliation, are elastic when votes are being sought. One ethical issue, however, has emerged with especial force in this campaign which calls for mention. Indeed it has been in evidence ever since Mr. Eisenhower was nominated. The issue is commonly defined as a choice between principle and expediency. Specifically, Mr. Eisenhower has been sharply taken

to task for not breaking with leaders in his party who quite obviously are no friends of his policies. On the other hand, any intimation from the White House that the President intends to be "choosy" in bestowing his support on Republican candidates evokes criticism. Thus David Lawrence, in his column:

"Why should the President refuse to indorse any member of the Republican party in either house who is up for election? Does he think he can accomplish the enactment of his legislative proposals if, because of the defeat of perhaps only one Republican Representative and one Republican Senator, the control of both houses should pass to the Democratic party? Would Mr. Eisenhower prefer to come as a suppliant to the Majority Leader of the House and the Majority Leader of the Senate when both are Democrats, and ask them to enact his program?"

The obvious rejoinder from the "liberal" viewpoint is that if the President takes seriously his middle-of-the-road mandate his

"support" in Congress is not partisan and the election of some Republican regulars would be a menace to his program, and the defeat of some Democrats likewise.

Yet the moral issue is manifestly not so simple as many make it out to be. The business of a political party is to win power, if it can and then to govern. Political effectiveness requires a majority to implement party designs. To a high degree, "regularity" is essential to legislative success. It is a rule of politics, says James Reston, that "a politician never antagonizes a group of voters in an election year—if he can avoid it." That is an "iffy" proposition. His conscience must decide if and when he cannot avoid treating some of his regulars as "expendables." Is it not essentially the same with a conscientious minister who has a sharply divided session, vestry or official board?

The hairbreadth margin of support which the President has in Congress aggravates his problem—and no doubt often intensifies his misery.

Letters from Some Church Leaders

We may now return to our correspondents and quote, by way of pointing up the issues we have sought in some measure to clarify, the letters we solicited concerning the election.

A western university president:

"First, on the international scene, is of course the question of how we shall deal with world communism, particularly Russia and Red China. Personally, I am convinced that we cannot meet the challenge of communism

a policy of appeasement or retreat but that a strong, well-armed, unified, and hence confident America is the only thing which communism will respect. . . . The second basic issue is the internal one, and it is emphasized by the various Congressional hearings conducted during this past year. Again, it is the result of our concern with communism, although this time of an internal nature. The McCarthy hearings and similar activities point up to the basic problem: Shall we, in seeking to preserve our freedom by destroying those who would undermine it from within, adopt means to that end which, in the final analysis, will destroy the very thing which we seek to preserve? . . . Thus, we return, as I see it, to the problem of education. Education must do far more than transmit knowledge and intellectual skill to our young people. It must also emphasize that much abused and misused word—character. . . . We all know that evil has been practiced by men who are intellectually brilliant, because they lack character and the will to use their knowledge properly. If we are even to hope to succeed in our task of educating men and women for a free society, we dare not overlook this, because only men and women of character are free in the real sense."

A midwestern college president:

"Frankly, I feel we give undue importance to the superficial is-

ues in the various election campaigns. The reason for this attitude of mine is that I feel the basic ethical issues are timeless and are the strategic issues in any and every campaign. The temporal issues of the day are merely transfigurations of the eternal issues, but we tend to lose sight of this fact by the changed meaning given to words and the different garb in which we tend to clothe the basic issues. For example, I feel quite strongly that the basic issues at stake in the coming election are no different from those two years ago, twenty-two years ago or during the times of Lincoln, Jesus or Moses. . . . Accordingly, the overriding issue in every and any election to me is how we can assure ourselves of selection as our political leaders individuals who possess the spirit of democracy within themselves and will therefore work toward the democratic resolving of our social issues. . . . In short, I care not what the candidate says but how he thinks—but how are we to know? This is the eternal issue of good government and it will therefore necessarily be the significant issue of the fall elections."

A Wisconsin minister:

"There can be no question but the main issue will be McCarthy and the forms of intimidation and the rule of the demagogue vs. the duly elected representative government of the people of the U.S."

Another Wisconsin minister:

"I regret that the tideland oils were turned over to the states and the already swelling profits of private interests when they belong to the country, to us, as Mr. William T. Evjue, editor of the *Capital Times* here in Wisconsin, I believe, correctly holds. I regret to see private utilities take up some of the options and services of the Tennessee Valley Authority. I further profoundly regret the turning over of facilities for the production of atomic energy to private interests, when they had been produced by tremendous tax support. They, too, belong to the people. A change in income tax laws has for the most part been such as benefit the already large income group with very little benefit to the smaller payer. . . . Many of us here in Wisconsin are quite ashamed of the type of leadership our junior Senator has attempted to give, almost burlesque-wise, in the discovery and elimination of subversives. We are quite ready to trust the due processes of law in this respect and we know that there are plenty of citizens in Wisconsin that repudiate the junior Senator's leadership, both within and without his own political party.

"Foreign policy presents our most difficult front. I am fearful that the Dulles program cannot be successful, not because it does not with sufficient force encircle and control communistic expansion, but because it does not pro-

vide the means of eliminating the conditions that generate communism. I am tired of finding America always allied with dictators—from Franco on. . . . Not until we go into Central and South American countries, to say nothing of Africa and the Malay area and Asia, with much greater technical and sociological assistance than we already have can we expect to forestall the spread of politically dictatorial communism. We need a lot more Chester Bowleses. They would make us friends where the Nixonons and the Knowlands cannot but make us enemies."

A midwestern editor:

"It would seem that first and foremost would be the issue of public power with the debate on the atomic energy bill highlighting this matter.

"Along with this, the question of the public *versus* state rights to tideland oil lands would make one of the prime issues. The traditional stand of the Democratic party on states' rights, plus the fact that some of the states most affected are in the South and hence Democratic but yet benefited by the tideland oil situation, might make this only a minor issue in the campaign.

"Foreign policy as usual will be an issue although it is difficult to see how either can take much of an issue with the other on the Indo-China situation. The last Administration got us into the backing of the French . . . and the present Administration

continued the same policy, climaxed by the Southeast Asia Munich. There's little to be proud of in our position there and it is difficult to see how either party can blame the other entirely for this. . . .

"Another potential issue and also one that hurts our standing overseas is that of McCarthyism. . . .

"There's little doubt but that the farm issue will be a live one especially in the Midwest, with the Farm Bureau leaders and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce backing the Administration, but with the Democrats reminding Eisenhower supporters of what the President said at Kasson, Minnesota, in the fall of 1952. He did not back 90 per cent price supports beyond 1954 but did hint at (1) the need for working out price supports on livestock and other perishable products, the real objective being to get farmers not 90 per cent but 100 per cent of parity in market place and (2) the need of ridding agriculture of regimentation. On the latter point, the prospects are for greater regimentation than before under the new regulations announced for controls on the 1955 wheat crop."

A minister in South Dakota:

"One of the most critical issues in the coming Congressional election concerns the foreign policy of our government. Will we elect Congressmen who believe in the good neighbor policy, are eager

to extend economic assistance to the noncommunist nations, and will continue to support the United Nations even if Red China is admitted to membership? . . . Will our representatives be willing to lower our tariff barriers and extend the reciprocal trade agreements?

"On the home front we have the issue of McCarthyism. . . . A major issue in the realm of economics is that of farm price policy. . . . If the farmer does not receive a fair price for his product the whole economy is very quickly upset. To guarantee that fair price it seems necessary to continue government supports at 90 per cent of parity. . . .

"Another issue which has a direct bearing upon the welfare of the rural community is the policy of the government regarding the development and use of hydro-electric power and atomic power. The installation of dams and power plants at government expense has made electric power much more available at a reasonable rate to the farms and rural communities of our nation. . . .

"An issue which is apt to be forgotten because it affects only a small segment of our population is the question of justice for the American Indians."

A professor in Oregon:

"The political picture this summer is clouded almost to the extent of zero visibility, with cross currents muddying every issue. Certainly to satisfy most

persons of a nonfascist tendency in America, the Republicans must show that they can shake off McCarthy. The Administration in the world at large is doing so-so, despite the isolationist tendencies. Ike has some principles to stand for and Dulles is seeming to muddle along.

"In Oregon Neuberger is challenging Cordon on the public vs. private power issue and is going to make a real campaign. The question still centers on how deeply government should be in the business and industrial world, as competitor or as guardian of public interest."

A woman church leader in Iowa:

"The U.S. Supreme Court has taken us another step on the road to non-segregation. We will need to make this adjustment as easily and quickly as possible. It is very important that our Congressmen have the right attitudes themselves and will support the idea. (I also wish that our churches might reach the non-segregation policy more quickly. We'll all keep working on it!)"

"It is very important that we stand for and support the United Nations. . . .

"We need a larger sense of dignity and statesmanship in our U. S. Senate, which should be an example to other legislative bodies. . . . As a country, we need to learn humility, be less cocky and boastful and win back our loss of leadership influence. . . .

"We must continue our assistance to other countries. . . .

"'McCarthyism' might well be called an issue, I suppose. At any rate, we do not like the threats and suspicions that are cast on many innocent persons."

A southern minister:

"On the domestic scene 'McCarthyism' is very evidently one of the greatest threats. . . .

"I believe that the Roman Catholic frame of mind, namely the acceptance of rule from above, is spreading in the ranks and file. This is largely due to their characteristic teachings. The acceptance makes possible figures like McCarthy."

"The other dominant menace is the constant threat of the military mind and its typical solution to all problems by a show of force. This easy solution is usually a bad one and it seems to me doomed to failure."

A California minister stresses atomic energy as an issue: "I feel strongly that experiments with the destructive use of this force have proceeded far enough, that there should be no further experiments of H-bombs or any other kind of atomic weapons, and that increasingly we should seek international control of atomic energy (at least as far as destructive purposes are concerned), and turn more and more to use in constructive applications of this force." Curtailment of civil liberties presents another important issue. "One example is the pr

age by the California legislature last year of a bill which exacts from the churches a loyalty oath in order that they be tax exempt. This whole matter should be studied and thoroughly explored from a Christian standpoint, and politicians should be forced to show their hand on this issue if they stand for reelection." He finds that McCarthyism is still an issue, as is also the response to be made to the Supreme Court's decision on race segregation in the schools. Candidates should also declare themselves with respect to "technical assistance" and Point IV.

And to conclude with a mild but provocative commentary on the whole theme we quote from the letter of an agricultural publisher in the Midwest:

"Within the area of which I am best qualified to speak—agriculture—I see few, if any, problems of an ethical nature that are involved in the November elections. True, there are many differing opinions which for the most part go back to individual interests. As a producer of corn it is natural and in no sense dishonest for me to desire and work for laws which will assure me the best possible price for my product. Conversely, as a feeder of livestock who must purchase

corn I desire a low price for the products which go to make up my cost of production—in this case, corn. To work honestly and above board to accomplish either of these objectives seems to me to be natural and proper. To bribe a candidate to work for either high or low prices as a condition for his election would most certainly be wrong and highly unethical.

"I fail to see a problem in either a pro or con position on the proposed Bricker amendment, nondiscriminatory employment, investigations of communists, and many other similar questions, but I can readily understand how unethical procedures can be used to obtain or defeat the passage of laws affecting these questions.

"As I view the upcoming campaigns I find it difficult to see anything that is inherently unethical in them, but, as is always the case, many persons may do many unethical things in relation to them."

The major issues in this area this correspondent finds to be: "1. Taxes. 2. Agriculture. 3. States rights."

This brings us back to the difficult but important matter of locating the ethical aspects of political problems.

The Essence of the Matter

By permission of the Christian Science Monitor we are reprinting from its issue of August 25 the following significant article by one of its ablest special correspondents.

And So to the Hustings By Joseph C. Harsch

The President has gone to Denver, members of the 83rd Congress have scattered to their various constituencies, and the people of the United States settle down to weigh the impact upon their lives and history of the first experiment in government by Republicans in 22 years.

Do they like it, or do they begin to think back with nostalgia to the generation of change over which the Democrats presided from 1932 to 1952?

The answer is for time to disclose on the ordered day of November when the individual citizen becomes king for a day and passes his solemn verdict upon those to whom he had given a mandate to manage his public affairs. There is little gain at this early stage in attempting a forecast of the voters' decision, but we can usefully attempt an appreciation of what Republicans have done when they had their chance to take over the management of the affairs of the American Republic.

The most important single characteristic of the product is that it does not resemble in general or in detail what any one important segment of the Republican Party intended or what its

opponents and critics forecast but is rather the result of the enormous abrasive process by which the desires of individual men and groups of men are rolled around together like rocks on the surf-churned shore of American political life.

When it all started in January of 1953 one group of Republicans desired what can only be described as a counterrevolution in American social and economic life. Another group desired about all a counterrevolution in foreign policy. A third group accepted most of the New Deal phase of history and saw in Republican victory a chance to carry on the process, but more efficiently and economically. All of these have in varying degrees been disappointed.

History will agree, I think, that the man who has been least disappointed by the actual inclination of events was Dwight D. Eisenhower himself, for he differed from most of the Republicans who put him in office in that he had not articulated his own mind in 1952 a detailed doctrine of where he wanted to go.

In his precampaign period he called himself a middle-of-the-roader, and he liked to say that

he was a conservative in the way his mother was a conservative when she went into her kitchen garden during the growing season to weed out what was useless or in surplus and to harvest what the family wanted and could use.

This really is what has happened, and there have been surprises in the process for all concerned. For example, the 83rd Congress saw Republicans who had campaigned for a generation against such ideas as public housing and social security leading the floor fight for retention of low-cost federal housing and for expansion of social security coverage. For another example, Republicans of 1952 probably were more united on the theory of the desirability of "hard money" and "balanced budget" than on anything else. Yet within three months after the Republicans had taken office the Republican administration was earnestly replenishing the money supply; and by adjournment day last week the economic policy of the Republican government was in fact built around a continuing imbalance in the federal budget. Add also that in foreign policy the conflict between the Republican campaign promise of an end to the Korean war and a "rollback" of the Iron Curtain has been resolved in favor of the implications of the former. The Korea war was ended. The Indo-China war was avoided, and the promised "rollback" of the Iron Curtain had subsided into an acceptance of the Churchillian

concept of "co-existence with vigilance."

If this is counterrevolution it is one of history's mildest. There has been change. In limited degree most New Deal-Fair Deal policies and programs have been tempered and modified. Farmer and organized laborer are less privileged. The upper-bracket taxpayer has been given relief. The momentum of national industry construction (TVA, power projects for the West, etc.) has been checked. The pace of welfare statism has been slowed to a walk. Yet nowhere has there been violent or drastic change. There has been a much more pronounced reduction in speed than change in course. The dismissal of technicians of old policies has exceeded the change in those policies. This is most true at the State Department where the personnel purge has been drastic but the actual change in course, after a brief variation, has settled back largely to what it was before.

The real question the voters will decide is whether the slower pace of Eisenhower conservatism accords with the national moods and inclinations of November, 1954. The politicians will, of course, do their utmost to make the difference between past and present seem larger than it is. They will fill the atmosphere with exaggerated, manufactured, or imagined issues. The real issue will be the popular taste for two years of milder, slower political action.

Book Notes

WORLD AFFAIRS

AMBASSADOR'S REPORT. By Chester Bowles. Harper. 415 pp. \$4.00.

FIRE IN THE ASHES. By Theodore H. White. Sloan, 405 pp. \$5.00.

SHIRT-SLEEVE DIPLOMACY: POINT FOUR IN ACTION. By Jonathan B. Bingham. John Day, 303 pp. \$4.00.

THE FUTURE OF UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES. By Eugene Staley. Harper, 410 pp. \$5.00.

THE STRUGGLE FOR INDO-CHINA. By Ellen J. Hammer. Stanford University Press, 333 pp. plus index. \$5.00.

These five books merit reading by all who wish to keep abreast of world affairs. They are engagingly written, and give important background on Asia and Europe as well as on the key issues of technical assistance and economic development of underdeveloped areas.

Indian-American relations have become of central importance within the complexities of the current international scene. In his absorbing *Ambassador's Report*, Chester Bowles clearly shows that he and his family were genuine envoys of goodwill who, in their 18 months' stay in India and Nepal, made deep and far-reaching contributions to the advancement of understanding between the United States and the countries of Southeast Asia. A moving human story, the book deals lucidly with the tangled problems germane to Asia's future.

Perhaps the outstanding recent book on Western Europe, *Fire in the Ashes* by Theodore H. White is a brilliant study by an astute journalist. Mr. White has important insights that help the reader make below-surface judgments about an area that has continuing and crucial significance.

Mr. Bowles has a good deal to say in his book about technical assistance and economic development in South-east Asia. This idea of helping people help themselves—called Point Four in the USA and Technical Assistance in the United Nations—has captured the imagination of many Americans. For all of its appeal to the American people, this program is not receiving as much support as a program so full of promise for the free world deserved. Jonathan Bingham's *Shirt-Sleeve Diplomacy* is by all odds the best popular and comprehensive discussion of Point Four that is available. It is a fascinating story of this work, so beneficial to both our country and the underdeveloped areas. Mr. Bingham describes vividly some ways in which the Point Four idea has been carried into action, and also deals with problems solved and unsolved together with the future possibilities of this bilateral program for underdeveloped areas.

In writing about *The Future of Underdeveloped Countries*, Eugene Staley has given us a book of immense importance. The subtitle, "political implications of economic development," suggests the scope of the study. As a whole it is immediately relevant to current aspects of US foreign policy. In detail it is informative and stimulating. But its deeper significance lies in its emphasis upon the pressing necessity of searching out "new bases of mutual respect and mutual interest on which to build co-operation between the more developed countries of the West and the advancing countries of the underdeveloped world." Mr. Staley will not let us forget that "the underdeveloped countries may in fact hold the balance of the future" and whether most of these countries take a demo-

cratic or a totalitarian path is "likely to determine the course of civilization on our planet."

Finally, for those who wish to read more intelligently the news from and about Indo-China, Ellen J. Hammer's *The Struggle for Indo-China* is a readable book which provides considerable background in a relatively small compass. Very little of this book has been dated by the most recent military and diplomatic events.

—A. WILLIAM LOOS

RACE RELATIONS

THE ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT AND THE RACIAL PROBLEM. By W. A. Visser 't Hooft. UNESCO Publication. International Documents Service, 1960 Broadway, New York, 70 pp. 40¢.

THE NEGRO AND THE SCHOOLS. By Harry S. Ashmore. University of North Carolina Press, 228 pp. \$2.75.

NEXT STEPS IN INTEGRATION. Race Relations Institute of the American Missionary Association, 1953, 57 pp. 60¢.

In a unanimous decision read by Chief Justice Warren, the Supreme Court ruled on May 17, 1954, that segregation in public schools should be abolished. This was a forward stride in the long struggle of the Negro to achieve equality before the law with other American citizens. The decision made news not only in this country but particularly in those countries abroad predominantly populated by peoples of color.

In this country concern among our churches about the "racial problem" has always been deep. No doubt church members this fall will follow with keen interest the methods used by states to comply with the Supreme Court decision. A recently published pamphlet will provide them with valuable background and insights into

the issues involved in "race." This is a comprehensive and incisive survey of the problem made by the General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, W. A. Visser 't Hooft. This UNESCO booklet outlines the historical background of the subject and deals specifically with the problem in the United States, South Africa, and Nazi Germany. The second part of the booklet delineates the issues and sets the future task of the churches. It is worth noting that Dr. Visser 't Hooft's pamphlet is one of four UNESCO studies on the general theme, "The Race Question and Modern Thought," two others being written respectively by a Roman Catholic and a Jew (*The Catholic Church and the Race Question* and *Jewish Thought as a Factor of Civilization*). A fourth booklet will deal with Moslem thought on the race question and will be published sometime in 1955.

Mr. Ashmore's study is perhaps the best brief and general up-to-date treatment on bi-racial education in the United States. Issued under the aegis of the Fund for the Advancement of Education, this book summarizes the findings of forty scholars, most of them from southern colleges and universities. Mr. Ashmore is the executive editor of the *Arkansas Gazette*. Under the title, "The Figures Tell the Story," a second part of the book includes numerous tables on population changes, school attendance, current expenditures per pupil, etc. Instructive charts in the first part of the volume increase the interpretive value of these research studies.

Next Steps in Integration condenses into a readable booklet the discussions at the American Missionary Association's 1953 Race Relations Institute at Fisk University. It provides useful background information and stimulating interpretation.

—GALEN R. WEAVER

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